2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

174 establishment of the British South Africa Company at Kasama in 1899 the military conquests of the Bemba suddenly ceased. The Citimukulus of to-day rule over their own territory only. It stretches from 29° west to 32·5° east and from 9° north to 12° south, and covers the whole of the administrative district of Kasama and most of those of Mpika, Chinsali, and Luwingu, an area rather larger than that of Ireland. It includes much of the Bisa and Lungu territory occupied during the last century and now predominantly inhabited by them, and the Bemba are still regarded as the dominant tribe in the district by members of other groups.

191 According to their own traditions, and those of the surrounding peoples, the Bemba were originally an offshoot of the great Luba 173 tribe which inhabited the Katanga area of the Congo east of the Kasai river, and their invasion of their present territory seems to have been one of a series of immigrations of which the Bisa were apparently the first to arrive, the Bemba the second, and the Lunda, now inhabiting the region round Lake Mweru, the third.[1] The swamp-dwelling peoples of the Bangweolu district—the Ushi, Unga, Bena Ngumbo, Bena Cishinga, &c.—have also a tradition of Congo origin, as have the Lala and Lamba peoples to the south, and the Kaonde in North-Western Rhodesia, to mention only a number of the bigger tribes. Whatever the date and order of their arrival it is sufficient for our present purposes to state that all these tribes have certain features in common. The languages they speak are 101 sufficiently alike for them to be grouped for administrative purposes as 'Cibemba-speaking people'.[2] They are all predominantly agricultural as are the kindred peoples in the Congo.[3] Descent,

[1] J. C. C. Coxhead notes that Lacerda visited the Lunda kings in the region in 1798, and deduces that this tribe arrived some sixty years earlier, i.e. in 1740, and the Bemba a generation or two earlier still. *The Native Tribes of N.E. Rhodesia; their laws and customs*, R.A.I. Occasional Papers No. 5, p. 3. Verhulpen considers that 'Babemba' was the name given to the Lunda people when they had crossed the Luapula into their present territory. Op. cit., p. 391. The Bemba themselves are emphatic that they arrived with the Lunda and parted with them just south of Lake Mweru.

[2] Cf. tribal map at the end of the book. Members of all these tribes are described as 'Bemba' by compound managers on the N.R. copper belt.

[3] A few cattle and sheep are kept by the tribes in the Bangweolu swamps, such as the Ushi, Bisa, &c., by the Cewa on the Nyasaland border (A. Hodgson, *J.R.A.I.*, 1933, p. 152) and the Lunda in N.W. Rhodesia (Smith and Dale, op. cit., vol. i, p. 131), and a certain number of the Kasai tribes give a marriage payment in sheep and goats, such as the Songe (Van Overbergh, *Les Basonge*, 1908, p. 215), and Luba (Verhulpen, op. cit., p. 262), or even in cattle among the

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

The crop springs up round the base of the lopped trunks, which remain standing till they begin to sprout again. 241

Methods of shifting cultivators often cause the administrator anxiety as they appear to be a wasteful method of using land, and it is true that the *icitemene* system, which has been particularly severely criticized, involves the pollarding of many trees. In the Abercorn district, it was estimated that 21 square miles of wood were cut in order to make 1,346 gardens, or 6½ acres of forest to make 1¼ acres of millet garden.[1] The trees grow again in a period variously estimated as 20 to 30 years, but the *icitemene* method certainly necessitates the making of fresh gardens each year in order to produce the essential millet.

However, the European, after 30 or 40 years occupation of the country, has not discovered any better method of producing millet in this particular environment up to the present, or even anything as good.[2] The burning of the ground destroys the weeds and produces a fine friable soil as a seed-bed. It also increases the phosphates and potash in the soil, and turns it slightly alkaline from being slightly acid and makes it more highly saturated with calcium.[3]

It is difficult to find out how long the Bemba have followed their *icitemene* custom, and why they differ from kindred peoples in this respect. Some natives say that 'We learnt *ukutema* here. The Bemba hoed like other people when they were still in Lubaland,' but there is no clear information available as to the tree-cutting methods of the Congo peoples at the present time. Suffice it to say that, however they acquired it, the Bemba consider their own system of clearing the bush as characteristic, and therefore superior to that of other tribes. The method of shearing the trees of their branches is exceedingly skilled. It is the man's task *par excellence* in the whole economic routine. The Bemba are daring climbers. They swarm up each trunk grasping with both hands and pressing with their naked feet, and once up to the branch level, swing themselves up among the boughs, springing or gliding with amazing agility. No tree is considered too high or too dangerous to climb. [173]

[1] *Native Agriculture in the Abercorn District*, U. J. Moffat, and Annual Bulletin of the Dept. of Agriculture, 1932.

[2] Moffat calculates that the average size of a household's garden in the Abercorn district is 3–4 acres and the production of grain per household is 3,200 lbs. Report to the Diet Committee of the N. R. Govt., 1937.

[3] Mr. H. B. Stent's Analysis of the soil of a newly burnt garden. Annual Bulletin of the Dept. of Agriculture, 1933 (p. 48), also U. J. Moffat op. cit.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

622 There was no permanent property to bind a man to one area rather than another and men moved easily to live with one relative or another. The headman's prime difficulty was in fact to persuade relatives to join him or if they had already done so to persuade these kinsmen not to leave him!

The headman could command small gifts in tribute and a little service. He also had a shrine to his own personal ancestors and performed ceremonies for the good of the village. He purified the village by an act of ritual intercourse with his chief wife and his fire was regarded as the fire of the village.

644 Princesses had an important part to play in the political system. The mother of the Citimukulu was known as the Candamukulu and she ruled over a small territory in the king's district and was thus in the position of sub-chief to him. The same was true of another royal princess, the Mukukamfumu who also had a sub-chieftainship in her own right. Both these princesses had important ritual functions to perform in tribal ceremonies.

614 The Bemba are organized in matrilineal clans distinguished by
● 173 totemic observances, stereotyped forms of greeting between clan members, joking relationships with paired and opposite clans,[1] and honorific titles. Clan members reckon descent from a common ancestress and her brother, and they tell the legendary tale of the first arrival of these forebears in the country. They remember the villages where their ancestors first settled, although neither the clan nor any of its subdivisions can be regarded as localized groups at the present day. Clans are ranked in some kind of precedence, according to the order in which their ancestors are thought to have arrived in the country from the west.

611 Within the clan great emphasis is laid on the principle of
769 matrilineal descent. Ancestors are remembered in prayers before the shrine of a head of a family. Here a man will pray to the spirit of his maternal grandfather or maternal uncle, if the latter is already dead. The spirit of a maternal ancestor is thought to quicken the child in its mother's womb and to protect it all its life. The name of this ancestor or ancestress is discovered by
[553] divination, and given to the child. When a man dies his name, his

[1] See my 'Reciprocal clan relationships among the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia', in *Man*, vol. XXXVII, 1937.

101 considered here but will be discussed in a forthcoming section concerned
131 with the peoples of the eastern shore of southern Lake Tanganyika and adjacent regions.

In brief, the Bemba-Lala-Lamba-Kaonde groups, with their closely related sub-groups, occupy almost the whole of North-eastern Rhodesia and the northern parts of North-western Rhodesia, besides adjacent areas of the Belgian Congo.

132 With the exception of the swamp-dwelling groups, the Unga and the Twa,
133 all live under broadly similar conditions. Plentiful rainfall waters the generally unproductive plateau soils covered by deciduous woodland. The
161 density of population which such land can carry is small, reaching only to about 12 persons per square mile, and this figure is not exceeded, or even approached, except in reserves where local over-population of a serious nature occurs, and in the swamp areas where inundation creates a land shortage either permanent or seasonal. The total population of the selected groups can be reckoned to be about 440,000.

GENERAL CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

197 The languages of these peoples are closely similar, so much so that the whole group of peoples in this area has been loosely termed "Bemba-speaking".(1) Guthrie, however, distinguishes within one of his linguistic zones *Bemba* with *Aushi* as a sub-dialect; *Tabwa* with *Shila* as a sub-dialect; and a further group of closely related languages, *Bisa, Lamba, Lala, Swaka,* and *Sewa.*(2) He places *Kaonde* in a different linguistic zone, L, because it has certain distinct features, such as a single prefix in independent nominals, which make it more closely related to the Luba group of languages. No mention is made of the languages spoken by other small groups closely related to the Bemba, such as Chishinga, Mukulu, Ngumbu, Kawendi, and Bwile. What little is known about the languages spoken by the Unga and Twa suggests that they may be closely related to Bisa.

174 There is apparently little linguistic evidence to support the tradi-
173 tion held by all these peoples that they originated in areas west of the Luapula from peoples of Luba stock, although Richards says that Bemba told her that archaic words they used in ceremonies at their Paramount's court were "Ciluba".

105 These people practise shifting cultivation with finger millet as the staple crop in the east and cassava in the west. The absence of cattle in the area distinguishes them from the Mambwe to the north and some of the Ngoni to the east. The greater part of the area lies within the tsetse belt, but Lambo mentions that cattle were used as marriage payments among the Lala, and a few goats and sheep are kept by the Bemba and probably by other tribes. Hunting was highly developed in the west of the area before the arrival of Europeans and hunting guilds and associations are recorded.

(1) Richards, 6, 1939, p.16, and Moffat Thomson, 1934.
(2) Guthrie, 1948. A zone is both a geographical and a linguistic concept in that the languages within it have both linguistic affinities and geographical propinquity.

Section 1.—THE PARAMOUNTCY.

000 In order to understand fully the principles involved it will be necessary to give a brief history of succession and also to discuss in some detail the relative positions of the mothers of chiefs. But first, a few introductory remarks will indicate the general and traditional ideas on how the succession works.

611 643 644 Inheritance is matrilineal throughout: the most senior son of the most senior mother becoming Paramount Chief Chitimukulu. The mothers bear traditional names such as Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu, as in the reigning lineage at present. Sometimes Chandamukulu is the elder, and sometimes the other.

At the moment of writing the eldest of three *namfumu* (mothers of chiefs) is called Chandamukulu, the second is Mukukamfumu and a third is Mushimba. Seniority in sons follows that of the mother. The sons of junior sisters have reached to the Paramountcy on several occasions in the past but only when the inheritance has first passed through the sons of senior sisters. The post of Paramount went three times in succession to sons of junior, second sisters, and Nkula D14 of the present day always asserts that this altered the rule, and he states his intention to follow this up with his own claim when Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 dies. But, as I shall show, it is a futile claim and is not supported by traditional rules.

The Paramountcy passes through all the sons of the eldest sister before passing on to the sons of the next sisters. There is also a definite insistence that all the sons of sisters of the same generation must be passed through before the line switches to a younger generation of any branch of the family. The one generation may include half-brothers as well as cousins. Nkolemfumu D6 and Mpepo D10 are half-brothers from different fathers.

Thus it was possible in the past and may be possible in the distant future, if this custom is strictly maintained, for sons of junior sisters to become Paramount again.

The above sounds complicated but all it means is that the Bemba genealogical tree as regards succession to the Paramountcy is read horizontally from left to right across the branches of the royal clan. (I shall discuss later whether such reading should stop with the last offspring of any two branches, or go right across to include the offspring of three or more sisters.) Such tables are made out with the members of the same generation all along one line and normally it is easy to see who is in the succession or not. It passes from brother to brother in a genealogical generation and when that horizontal line is exhausted it drops to the oldest nephew of the senior woman in the next generation. Then it moves across that generation.

(a) History of Succession.

643 173 The genealogical table begins not with the earliest Bemba history, but at a distinct break in succession that occurred in the early 19th Century. I wish to commence this history at that point. Earlier history, from the

[see pp. 44-50. – Analyst]

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point of view of succession, had been, in the period immediately preceeding the present lineage, mainly of the rise of a chieftainship Mwamba, that had been held in succession by two younger brothers of two Paramounts. Neither of the two Mwambas ever became Paramount. Some authorities say that Mwamba became so powerful that he would not deign to become Chitimukulu, and in fact he fought against his elder brother on at least one occasion. There are also legends of Paramounts being deposed by force by various brothers and nephews and also of wars between various claimants (3).

I begin this history with that of a usurper. About 1850 (?) the Chitimukulu was Chimbola (Chitinta). His mother was a Chandamukulu and they both lived in Lubemba (headquarters of the tribe). The family of the younger sister, Mukukamfumu, lived farther south in the Kasama district, and this latter branch was very wealthy as it obtained much ivory from what is now Kabanda's Bisa district in Chinsali. The Lubemba people envied them and a fifth column element invited them to attack Chimbola, who was a cruel, bloodthirsty chief as well as being a poor provider of wealth. The Chandamukulu branch said that their show of resistance would be nullified because they would take the heads out of their arrows. The attack was led by Chileshye, also called Chepela because he had one arm shorter than the other. He was the eldest son of Mukukamfumu and thus cousin (classificatory brother) of Chimbola, but at that time he held no chiefly title. Chileshye also collected the Bisa of Kabanda to help him. The attack succeeded, and Chimbola and his family were driven across the Chambeshi (4). Chileshye Chepela became Chitimukulu in place of his cousin and his sister in due course took the title Chandamukulu I in the new lineage. It should be noted that his mother did not change her name.

I complete this story elsewhere in the relevant section.

Chitimukulu I.

So at the beginning of this new lineage we find Chileshye Chepela A2 as Chitimukulu I, a post obtained by force.

There are a few interesting points to notice about this horizontal line of Chileshye A2. His next brother took the title of Mwamba, and the history of Mwamba is from now on entangled with that of the Paramountcy. There had been only two Mwambas earlier than this and the second, Mwamba Kashampupo, had died before Chimbola, his brother, was driven out. (Still to-day there is a village Mwamba Wamatengele in Chimbola's area but it is now inherited by Chimbola's eldest grandson.) Mutale A3 then became Mwamba I of the new lineage. He died in 1859 before Chitimukulu Chileshye A2 but he was not succeeded by Bwembia A6 because this man was almost dumb and was a little simple minded too. So he was passed over and the senior nephew of the next generation, Kapalaula B3, became Mwamba II.

Chitimukulu II.

Chitimukulu Chileshye Chepela A2 died in 1861 (?) and this time Bwembia A6 did claim and obtain the Paramountcy in front of Mwamba B3. It is difficult to understand why Bwembia A6 should have been allowed to take the Paramountcy when he was not considered fit to become Mwamba. The spiritual status of the Paramountcy may indicate why even a fool should be given it, though in the past, and now as I am about to relate, this had not saved Paramounts from being turned off their stools

643 173 nor heirs from being superseded. Another version of the story is that Bwembia A6 refused to become Mwamba as he was expecting Chitimukulu A2 to die shortly. Also, the Mwamba was not then the stepping stone to the Paramountcy as it is now, so there was perhaps no compulsion for Bwembia A6 to take that post.

However, Bwembia A6 became Paramount but he was only left in peace for a few months. The young nephew Chitapankwa B4 was an aggressive character and neither he nor the people in general liked being ruled over by a fool. So in 1866 he called upon his brother Mwamba Kapalaula B3 to lead a rebellion and take the stool himself. Mwamba B3 refused, so Chitapankwa B4 led the attack himself and chased away Bwembia A6 to a garden village where he died shortly afterwards. He was buried at Mwalule like all Paramounts.

Chitimukulu III.

Chitapankwa B4 thus became Chitimukulu III ahead of his brother Mwamba Kapalaula B3 and so gives an example of the succession not following the direct line. Chitapankwa B4 jumped over the right heir and once he had chased away Bwembia A6 he kept the Paramountcy himself. Mwamba II Kapalaula B3 died of small-pox in 1887; having made no attempt to claim his proper post of Paramount.

Chitapankwa B4 began his rule with series of illnesses which were attributed, of course, to the fact that he was a usurper, but he lived them down and developed into one of the strongest of Bemba chiefs. In a twenty-one year reign he fought against the Ngoni, the Lungu, Tabwa and Mambwe. Bemba country increased considerably in size and Chitapankwa B4 increased the number of chieftainships. He made one nephew Chikwanda into Chikwanda I, a new chiefly name, and recreated the Nkolemfumu (see later) for a junior nephew. Then he sent his brother Kapalakashya B6 to turn the old Ngoshye family off the throne of the Nkula-Chewe and seize it for himself. (See Section 2.) Kapalakashya B6 thus became Nkula I of the new lineage. Chitapankwa B4 died in 1887 shortly after but in the same year as his elder brother Mwamba Kapalaula B3.

Chitimukulu IV.

Sampa Mulenda Nkula I B6 rightly succeeded his brother as Chitimukulu IV since Mwamba B3 was dead, and from now on the succession to the Paramountcy has been regular right up until the present time. Although there have been disputes about the Paramountcy which I must relate, and the Mwamba succession, now so intimately connected with the Paramountcy, shows many breaks in the direct line.

When Mwamba Kapalaula B3 died it would appear that the right man to succeed was Sampa Mulenda Nkula I B6. But Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 died only a few months after Mwamba so Sampa Mulenda Nkula I B6 did not become Mwamba. It must be remembered that the bodies of royal chiefs are kept for sometimes a year before burial and that the new chief is not appointed until after burial. So that in a case like this one when the Paramount and his successor die within a short period the next heir naturally takes the higher post.

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But there is a puzzle concerning the post of Mwamba. If the succession to the Mwamba was to follow the principles of that to the Paramountcy the brothers or cousins should inherit first, so that Chimfwembe Makumba B7 (Mulenga B8 died young) should have become Mwamba when Mwamba Kapalaula B3 died. The fact that Chimfwembe Makumba B7 did not become Mwamba displays another irregularity of succession in what had become a most important chieftainship. I use the word irregularity because here, as in most matrilineal tribes, the succession to chieftainships is normally to brothers before nephews. (The Mwamba was still in its infancy as the second most important post and both by historical accident and by personal feud or choice it has happened that not in any lineage until in the person of the present Chitimukulu Kanyanta D1 is there an instance of a Mwamba ever becoming Paramount.)

In the old lineage there had only been two Mwambas, the second being nephew to the first and succeeding by necessity because there were no other brothers. In the present lineage, as I have described, Mwamba I Mutale Mulenga A3 had been succeeded top by his nephew Kapalaula Mwamba II B3. It is not possible to say then that the Mwamba was the stepping stone to the Paramountcy yet and there was thus no traditional necessity for Chimfwembe Makumba B7 to become Mwamba when Kapalaula B3 died. It may even be that a sort of tradition had arisen that Mwamba must be succeeded by a nephew. Perhaps the real reason was that given to me by the councillors—that at a time when the Bemba were at war with the surrounding tribes, and when Ngoni raids had to be met, it was essential to have a strong warrior as Mwamba. Chimfwembe B7 was a weakling and for this reason he obtained neither the Mwamba nor the Nkula. So Kapalaula B3 was succeeded by his senior nephew Mubanga Chipoya C2 as Mwamba III and he was to prove one of the strong men of Bemba history.

It is said that a dispute arose between Chitimukulu Chitapankwa B4 just before he died and Nkula I Sampa B6 over this appointment. The former pressing the claims of Mubanga Chipoya C2 (Chanda C1 having died earlier) and the latter advocating the rights of another nephew Chanika C7. Neither Mutale Sichansa C3 nor Chikwanda C6 seem to have been considered. Whether this story is true or not cannot be stated definitely, but I give it, as it may explain the fact that the reign of Chitimukulu Sampa B6 was marked by a life long feud with Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2, the man whose appointment Sampa B6 had opposed. The feud resulted in many bloody battles between uncle and nephew and it is said that a Chief Shimumbi tried unavailingly to stop it. Mwamba C2 seems to have been the one to gain for he extended his sway at the expense of Chitimukulu by taking over a large area on the Chibili stream in what is now Kasama district.

Chitimukulu V.

The feud only ended with the death of Chitimukulu Sampa Mulenda B6 in 1895. But Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 was not yet finished for he announced his intention of taking the Paramountcy himself. He sent a warning to the rightful heir, the weakling Chimfwembe B7, telling him to keep away. Chimfwembe B7 was not strong enough to fight for the Paramountcy so he called in Chikwanda C6 to help him.

This is interesting as it seems to emphasise again the tendency to dichotomy that is now a feature of Bemba chiefly politics. We have Mubanga Chipoya C2 of the family to the left of the table attempting to usurp

643 173 the Paramountcy from an uncle to the right of the table. The story of Chitapankwa B4 and Chitimukulu Bwembia A6 is almost repeated. The tension between senior and junior branches of the clan is a constant feature of the whole of the history of this and earlier lineages.

Mwamba C2 had not yet moved to the Paramount's village so Chimfwembe B7 and Chikwanda C6 went there with a force and took away all the deceased's wives. Chimfwembe B7 meant to carry out at least one portion of the inheritance ceremonies. But Mwamba Mubanga C2 was immediately on his trail. He caught up the raiding party and slaughtered most of them. Chikwanda C6 managed to escape to his own home in Mpika. But Chimfwembe B7 was brought back as a captive to Mwamba's village. Mwamba C2 kept him tied up as a slave and ill-treated him cruelly until the captive, the man who should have been Paramount, began to show signs of dying. Then the *Bakabilo* (hereditory councillors), and indeed the people too, began to get frightened. To depose a Paramount was one thing but to kill him was a risky business because a Paramount has very powerful spiritual associations with the land. If Chimfwembe B7 had been killed by Mwamba Mubanga C2 then perhaps ill luck would have fallen on the land and the people. That is the explanation given to me by the councillors. (Coxhead says that Chimfwembe B7 gave a lot of land to Mwamba and that Mwamba C2 was virtually ruler of the Bemba (5).)

So this extraordinary incident was closed. Chimfwembe B7 was released and allowed to inherit the Paramountcy as was his right. His reign was comparatively uneventful after this exciting beginning but during it there developed a complication of the Mwamba post whose effects on Paramountcy claims are still being felt to-day in tribal politics, so it will be necessary for me to describe it in some detail. The incidents will further explain the principles of succession to the Paramountcy and also illustrate the point that the claims of one generation must be satisfied before the descent drops to another line.

Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2 died in 1898. At first there does not seem to have been any question of a nephew succeeding him as had happened in the past. His brother Mutale Sichansa Nkula II C3 was already dead. The Nkula succession had gone horizontally to a cousin, Chikwanda Nkula III C6 and if the Mwamba was to go the same way this man Chikwanda C6 was the next heir. It is said that Chikwanda Nkula III C6 refused the post. This may be true because he later gave up the Nkula to return to his beloved Mpika salt pans. But there is another version of why Chikwanda C6 did not become Mwamba, and that is that he was chased away, or the post refused to him, by Chandamukulu Kangwa Chonya C4. This is the more likely story for the Chandamukulu was also to exert her influence against Ponde C10 and I have already described how Chikwanda C6 had fought against the deceased Mwamba C2.

The Mwamba had gradually being building up power, and under Mubanga Chipoya C2 had been powerful enough to fight and win ground from one Paramount and almost to kill another. I think then here we have a continuation of the split in the clan, with Chandamukulu Kangwa Chonya C4 trying to hang on to the power built up by her brother. What is certain is that what she did and said seemed to carry weight, whereas Chimfwembe Makumba B7 the Paramount, continues to appear as a weak, colourless individual who took no part whatever in the Mwamba succession dispute.

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Chikwanda Nkula C6 did not become Mwamba. Chanika C7 was dead and so was Mutale C9, so the next man on the horizontal line was Ponde C10 and he did want the Mwamba chieftainship definitely. But he had earlier invoked the dislike of Mwamba Chipoya C2 by refusing to take the post of Nkolemfumu, which he said was not big enough for him. Also Ponde C10 had refused to attend Mwamba C2 during his last illness. Then he had sent the sick Mwamba C2 some medicine which Mwamba C2 had duly rubbed on himself and had promptly died. Ponde C10 was naturally accused of witchcraft and he refused to come and answer the charges. He had actually gone in to Mwamba's country immediately after the death intending to take over at once, but Chandamukulu C4 objected vigorously to this claimant too so Government asked him to go away until the succession was settled. He did, but then he refused to come in to answer his accusers on the witchcraft or poisoning charges. When Young and McKinnon, the Government officials, went up to the Kalungu river to fetch him he turned his forces against the Government's and in the ensuing battle he was defeated and fled. This was the reason that Ponde C10 did not obtain the Nkula chieftainship either, shortly afterwards. Two years elapsed after Mwamba Mubanga Chipoya C2's death then Codrington, the Administrator held an *ndaba* at Kasama to settle the succession. Ponde C10 had by this time re-established himself sufficiently to be able to attend safely, but the Chandamukulu family brought up all his misdeeds and still persisted in their accusations of witchcraft. Public opinion was still so much against him that Codrington had to accept the Chandamukulu refusal and look round for the next senior.

Ponde C10 was the last of the line on the right of the table so the succession switched right over to the left again and dropped a line to the senior nephew, the eldest son of a lower generation but of the senior mother Chandamukulu Kangwa Chonya C4. This was Kanyanta D1 and he was therefore appointed Mwamba in 1900 in front of his uncles Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10.

Chitimukulu VI.

Chitimukulu Chimfwembe Makumba B7 lived to a ripe old age. When he died then in 1911, Kanyanta D1 as Mwamba was next in importance but he was two lines down, and on the line above him were still his senior uncles, the two brothers Chikwanda C6 and Ponde C10. They were a generation above Kanyanta D1. So Chikwanda C6 claimed the Paramountcy and rightfully got it as Chitimukulu VI.

Chitimukulu VII.

When he died in 1911 Ponde C10 claimed the Paramountcy and, having lived down his past, also rightfully got it as Chitimukulu VII.

There are no records of any objections being raised against Chikwanda C6 becoming Paramount, nor to Ponde C10, although they were from a junior branch of the clan and although the Chandamukulu branch had kept these two men from the Mwamba. Of course the presence of a European administration that had already displayed its ability to stop tribal wars, would prevent, from now on, any recurrence of the inter-clan fights that had taken place in the past. Moreover I have described how serious a matter it is to keep rightful heirs off the stool. Bwembia A6 a fool, had been allowed to inherit before he was chased away.

643 173 Mwamba Kapalaula B3 had certainly been kept off the stool by a more powerful brother, but a spiritual fear had forced a later Mwamba C2 to allow a weakling Chimfwembe B7 to inherit. So now two men, Chikwanda C8 and Ponde C10, both of whom had been at loggerheads with the senior branch all their lives were allowed to inherit the Paramountcy without a murmur from the Chandamukulu branch. These incidents seem to emphasise that the succession to the Paramountcy should go direct and horizontally whatever has happened to the Mwamba.

All this time Kanyanta D1 was sitting as Mwamba, throughout the reign of three Chitimukulus. This is interesting as proving that although Mwamba is regarded as the second in power and honour, he need not be the right man to succeed in every case as Paramount. It is relationship that counts not possession of a particular chieftainship. When Ponde C10 died in 1922 there had thus been three successive Paramounts from the right side of the table, all sons of second sisters. The Nkula branch of the clan claimed that this had the effect of perpetuating the descent downwards in the one branch and only horizontally in that one family, and Nkula Bwalya D12 claimed the Paramountcy on the death of Ponde C10. But after a big enquiry that lasted 9 months held by Mr. Willis the Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, it was decided that Kanyanta D1 was the right man. (Chisela C12 had been killed earlier.) There was no doubt about this. The three Chitimukulus from second sisters had rightly obtained the post by following the rule that the post must go through all the men of the same generation before going downwards. This came out very clearly in the evidence given at the enquiry. Kanyanta D1 said that he had not been able to claim so long as his senior uncles, Chikwanda C8 and Ponde C10, from a more senior generation, were alive. But now they were dead he could claim. He said that the fact that these two men had not obtained the Mwamba in turn was an irrelevant fact when the succession to the Paramountcy was concerned. Kanyanta D1 was correct in his statement and he was the next Chitimukulu, because Ponde C10 was the last of his generation to the right of the table and the descent had to switch back and drop a line to the first on the left again, still rigidly following the rule that I have explained, and Kanyanta D1 was the eldest son of the senior *nsmfumu*.

Nkulu D12 argued that since the last three Paramounts had come from the right of the line, from second sisters, a tradition was thereby established. But the elders of the tribe disagreed with him and insisted that the descent was still horizontal as the appointment of those three men still kept the rule.

Chitimukulu VIII.

Kanyanta D1 was appointed Chitimukulu VIII in 1924 and is still alive.* His first brother Luatila D2 was dead so the next brother Nkolemfumu D3 became Mwamba V.

These two appointments were such that had not before occurred either in the old lineage or in the new. A Mwamba had become Chitimukulu and the Mwamba had been succeeded by a brother not a nephew.

I have left a full history of the Nkula for later sections so as not to confuse the main issue.

* He has died since the completion of this paper.

643 644 551 Another point to emphasise in connection with these two traditional names of Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu is that there is no change or advance from one name to the other as with chiefs, for, strictly speaking, all royal houses are equal and it is only possible to state that precedence is by seniority. A Mukukamfumu never becomes a Chandamukulu for the simple reason that one name is as good as the other. The sons of a senior Mukukamfumu are nearer to the Paramountcy than those of a junior Chandamukulu. But whether the sons of this senior Mukukamfumu ever do get the Paramountcy depends merely upon whether the sons of a still more senior *nsmfumu* outlive hers. We hear of the big house (*ng'anda ikulamba*) and the little house (*ng'anda icinso*). The house of Chandamukulu is the big house at the moment because she is the senior daughter of a senior *nsmfumu*. But deaths could change this in the future and turn the Mukukamfumu's into the big house, for once the name is inherited it is not changed. Chandamukulu and Mukukamfumu are but names and the relative seniority of their mothers decides which is senior at any particular moment.

(i) History.

173 551 644 A brief history of the *nsmfumu* will bring out many points of succession. Little can be gathered about the earlier lineage. The name Chandamukulu is said to be the oldest name and traditionally the name of the mother of the earliest Chitimukulu', but Mukukamfumu does not make its appearance until the beginning of the present lineage. When Chileshye Chepela A2 chased away Chimbola and his family it is noteworthy that the name of Chileshye A2's mother was not changed. Dr. Richards (*op. cit.* (1), page 93) says that the mother of a Paramount succeeds to the fixed name of Chandamukulu. But there is no historical example either in the present lineage or in the old to warrant this statement.

So Mukukamfumu I kept her name when her son became Paramount. The Chandamukulu who was driven away also kept her own name until she died. Then, but not until Chimbola's mother died, did Chileshye A2's elder sister A1 take the name and title of Chandamukulu I in the new lineage. The Chimbola branch of the clan were eventually invited back from beyond the Chambeshi whither they had been driven and given an area on the Weyaya stream. The mother of Chimbolas was given the title of Chanda Weyaya but she must not take this title until she is past child bearing age. She then becomes a *Na bulenge* (a mother of the hereditary relics). This arrangement seems to be a very subtle way of preventing Chanda Weyaya from re-claiming the Paramountcy for her sons, because she does not get an hereditary royal title until she cannot produce any more sons. The succession is as with other *nsmfumu*, from sister to sister then to grand-daughters, but if the heir is still young she does not get the name nor the sacred relics (*bulenge*) until she is past child bearing age. The name just " rests " for a period.

644 173 Kanyanta Bwalya A4 died before Chandamukulu I A1 so the descent went direct and correctly to Kangwa Chonya C4 who became Chandamukulu II.

The Mukukamfumu was also inherited correctly by the granddaughter of Mukukamfumu I. Kanyanta Bwalya A4 would not inherit Mukukamfumu as, even if she was alive at the time, there was a granddaughter available. So Kasonde B2 became Mukukamfumu II. Then comes an apparent slip but one that is easily explained. Kasonde Mukukamfumu II

[For identification of the Chitimukulu see pp 89-90. - Analyst]

B2 was killed by the Ngoni during a raid. Chimbabantu C5 was also captured by the Ngoni and taken away. So when Kasonde Mukukamfumu B2 was killed she had no sister to inherit, as Nakaafya B5 was also dead, and there were no granddaughters then. So the descent went to Mandechanda C6, a niece (classificatory daughter) and she became Mukukamfumu III. 644 173

Chimbabantu C5 had been captured when she was very young, about 12-14 years of age, by the Ngoni during a raid. She was sold by the Ngoni to a Fungwe native of what is now Isoka district and was married by him. Some years later greetings and messages began to come through from her by way of ivory traders (*Balungwesa*). Kafola D11 was told to make enquiries and he discovered where she was so she was finally brought back with her Fungwe husband. He was given ivory and he went away leaving Chimbabantu C5 and her two children by him. The two children are now Nkolemfumu Musenga D6 and Chandamukulu Chabili D7. The former will probably become Paramount and the latter's sons too perhaps. The tribe of the father should not matter in a matrilineal tribe, and in another Bemba lineage there is an example of Ngoni blood in a royal branch of the clan, an occurrence that did not affect succession. After her return home Chimbabantu C5 successively married three Bemba and had two girls and a son, one child by each husband. These three are Kasonde D8, Mubanga D9 and the present Mpepo D10.

In view of recent doubts about her identification raised by Nkula D14, it should be said that it is quite clear that the Chimbabantu C5 who returned was the one who had been taken away. She was too young to have been cicatrised with Bemba markings, but she was old enough to remember her relatives and it was her messages, revealing her knowledge of them, by the traders that first drew their attention to the fact that she was alive. When she returned she had Ngoni face markings and her ear lobes had been slit and enlarged in the Fungwe style. But she proved her identity then; and was accepted as Chimbabantu C5 by all branches of the clan up until the present, so I do not think any questioning can be allowed now.

When Kangwa Chonya C4 died then about 1911 (?) she was normally succeeded by Chimbabantu C5 who became Chandamukulu III. She, C5, died in 1937 but was succeeded by her daughter Chabili D7. This was not a regular succession but Mushimba C11 had died in 1928 and the only granddaughter then was Katongo E2 who was mad, so the only heir was the daughter Chabili D7. She became Chandamukulu IV and is still alive to-day.

Thus the Chandamukulu can show a regular succession, allowing for accidents such as mad granddaughters, right up to the present. But the Mukukamfumu descent has a recent history of complications that I must describe.

The usual home of Mukukamfumu is Kabumba in Lubemba (Kasama district) and it is here that the sacred relics (*bubenge*) of this chieftainship are kept. In 1924 when Bwalya Nkula D12 failed in his claim to the Paramountcy, he was so angry that he made his mother Mukukamfumu Mandechanda C6 leave Lubemba and go to live with him in Chinsali. She went about 1925. But the relics were left at the Kabumba and were cared for by Chisofwa, a councillor of the Mukukamfumu. They stayed from 1925 to 1936 and during all this time there was much discussion and argument not only between Chitimukulu and Nkula but among the councillors too. [178]

6#4 •173 Nkula was demanding that the relics go to Chinsali and the Paramount refusing, whilst the elders were saying that it was wrong for the relics to be left for so long without a *nsumfumu* to care for them. They demanded that some mother of chiefs be sent there, not to inherit the name or take the relics, because there was a Mukukamfumu still alive, but just to look after the relics.

Mushimba C11 was still alive for four years of this dispute and living at the Paramount's village, and as she was the next senior she should have gone. But she did not go. This is an interesting point, for the *Bakutilo* tell me that if she had been sent she would have taken the relics herself and also have usurped the name of Mukukamfumu. She was not sent to do that because the real Mukukamfumu was still alive. The fact that she was not allowed to take the relics and the name tends to prove a point I wish to make later, that only two women, mothers of Paramounts, can hold hereditary titles and have relics.

The discussions dragged on. Mushimba C11 died in 1928 before Mukukamfumu C8 thus she did not inherit one of the traditional names.

When Mukukamfumu Mandechanda C8 died in 1929 the right heir Nkumbula E11 her classificatory granddaughter was nominated (*kwesute*—to point out) by both the Paramount and Nkula C14. There was no dispute about who was the right heir but Nkumbula E11 could not inherit according to custom because Bwalya Nkula C12 would not let her go to Kabumba to the relics. He still wanted them to go to Chinsali. So the deadlock continued until 1936. The relics had been left for 11 years without a *nsumfumu* so the Paramount sent the next senior woman Chabili D7 to look after them. Chilufya D4 had died earlier in childbirth. Again there was no question of the name but only of care of the relics.

Chabili was only left a few months at Kabumba for Chandamukulu Chimbobantu C8 became seriously ill and since there were no sisters and the only granddaughter at that time was mad, Chabili D7 was the next heir. She inherited the Chandamukulu in 1937.

The question of care of the relics arose again. Nkula D14 had now inherited and he still refused to do anything about it. I was at Chinsali from 1938–1942 and I remember his constant attempts to get Nkumbula E11 recognised, particularly by Government. He did this by trying to get her a stave of office such as Chandamukulu has and a similar salary from the Bemba Treasury. He no doubt thought that once these things were effected the removal of the relics would follow. But he failed, for one reason because the Treasury was poor then and was restricting salary payments as much as possible.

So Nkula D14 saw that he was in a quandary. He had the right heir to the Mukukamfumu but he had neither relics nor status for her. So he began to give ground. But he still would not send the right heir. He sent his sister Nankumbula D13, the mother of Nkumbula Mukukamfumu E11, in 1936 to Kabumba. He stated that Nkumbula E11 was still too young to send, so her mother would look after the place for her until she grew up. This was a poor story because Nkumbula E11 was then married and had her first child. (In 1943 she had four children, the eldest about 8 years old.) Nkula D14 was still temporising and he went on trying, through Kasama this time, to get a salary and a stave of office for Nankumbula D13. He failed so after about a year of looking after the relics Nankumbula D13 returned to Chinsali in 1937. Again the relics were left without a *nsumfumu*.

They stayed alone with only the councillor to care for them for about another five years. Nkumbula E11 was so obviously grown up that Nkula D14's first excuse was definitely invalid now and it was clear that he was just carrying on the struggle to get the relics across to Chinsali. 644 173

Then in 1942 the Paramount took a step that forced Nkula D14's hand. He sent Sampa D22 to the Mukukamfumu relics. It is obvious that the patience of the Paramount and his councillors was exhausted for this appointment was not merely one of looking after the relics. They nominated Sampa D22, the sister of Shimumbi D18 and of the branch of the clan the farthest away from the Paramountcy, to be Mukukamfumu in place of Nkumbula E11. The councillors' attitude was that since Nkula refused to send the right heir then they must put in some one else. So Sampa D22 went to Kabumba but before she could inherit Nkula D14 had seen the danger and quickly sent to say he would send Mukukamfumu back.

The point to notice here is that Chitimukulu did not send either of the two younger sisters of Chandamukulu D7. He could have sent Kasonde D8 or Mubanga D9. But the tendency to keep the families apart was strong. He did not want the Mukukamfumu in his family and the line began by Nakaafya B5 was to be kept distinct. There is no doubt that the tendency to keep the Mukukamfumu and the Nkula in a separate branch of the clan is now a most powerful factor in Bemba politics. It is almost tradition now that the senior house gives these other two important posts to the next junior branch. The Councillors say that the possession of two good posts prevents the junior branch from being too jealous.

So Sampa D22 was the next on the list, as Mutale D21 was dead. She went to Kabamba but shortly afterwards in 1943 the right heir Nkumbula E11 arrived and duly inherited as Mukukamfumu IV. Sampa D22 was extremely angry but she had to go. The Nkula house had lost the fight in one respect and hung on to rights in another way. The attempt to gain complete control of the Mukukamfumu in their own district had failed. But by surrendering at the last moment they had prevented a still more junior branch of the clan from taking their important posts. There is little doubt that had the Mushimba C11 branch obtained the Mukukamfumu they would in time have obtained the Nkula too, insisting on the complete split being made. (I tell in the Nkula section how that chieftainship was put into a branch of its own.)

So we have to-day both a Chandamukulu and a Mukukamfumu in their right places. There is one more important point. In 1943 the Paramount and Council appointed Sampa E12 the younger sister of Nkumbula Mukukamfumu E11 to inherit the name of Mushimba. This is a deliberate attempt to make a third name into an hereditary one. Such a proceeding may lead to complications in future successions. Whether the repercussions will occur or not depends upon what the Council decide about the sons of Mushimba I C11; whether they are to come into the line of succession to the Paramountcy or whether the line is to stop at Bwembia Chikwanda D5. That is the topic of the following subsection.

(ii) The Stop in Horizontal Succession.

One of the most noticable features of this history of the mothers of chiefs is that there have been, until the present day, only the two hereditary names. This seems to be a very significant point. There have been other mothers of Paramounts as can be seen from the table, but the reasons they 644 551

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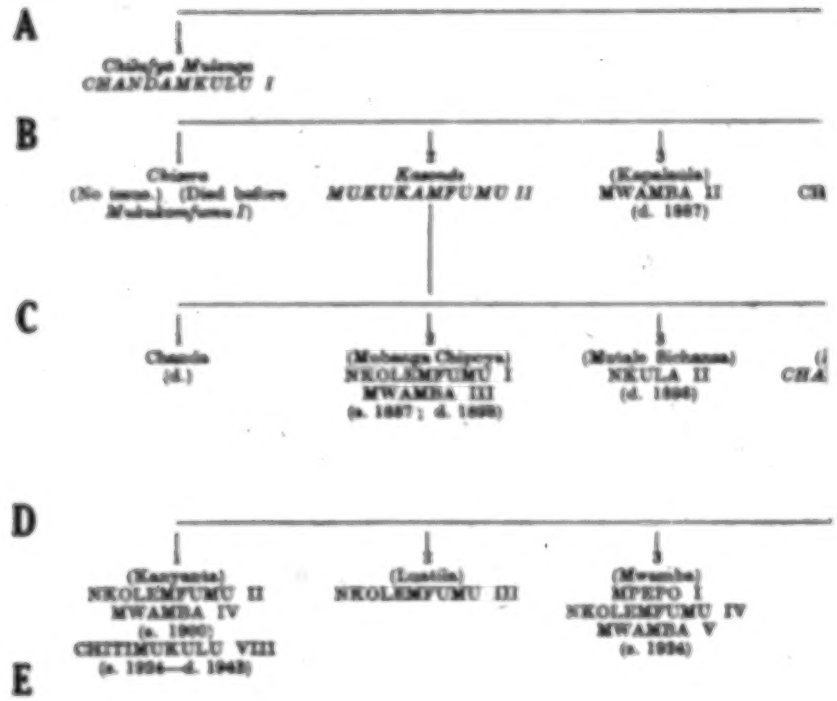

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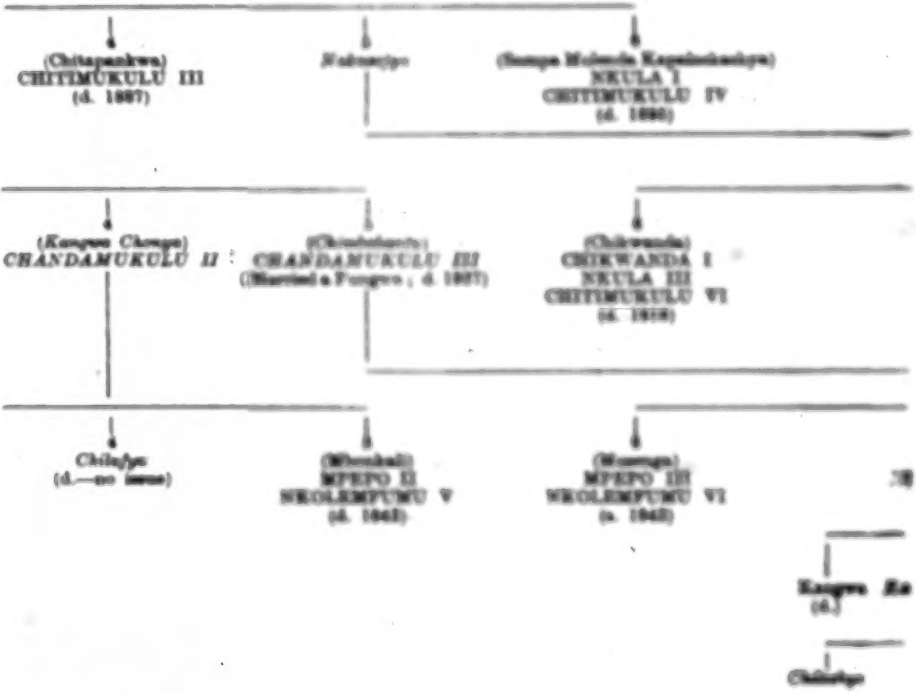

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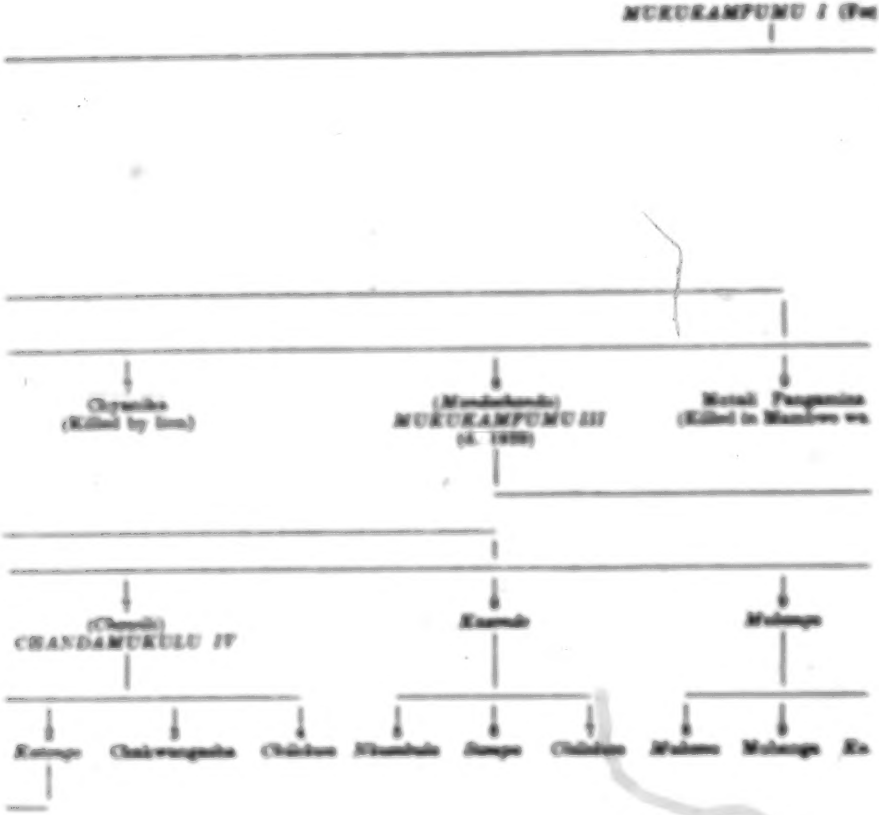
THE BEMBA

the Bemba Royal House showing the issue th



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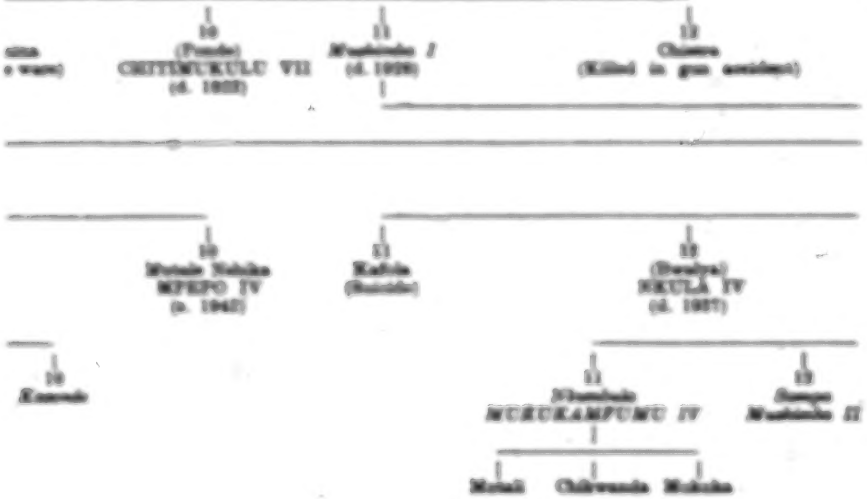

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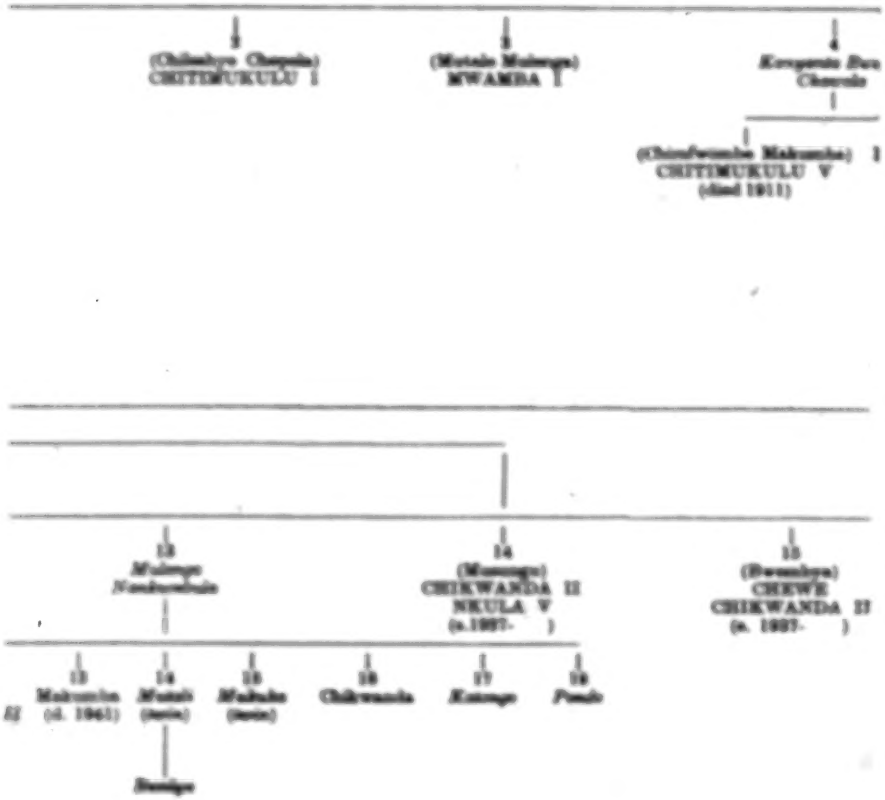

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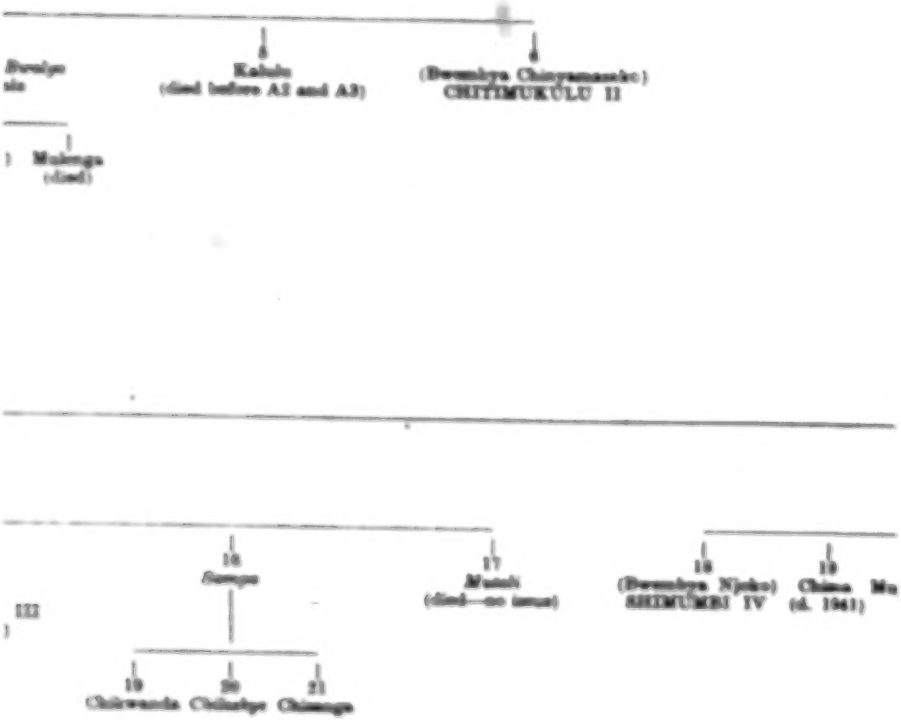
wn. See next table.



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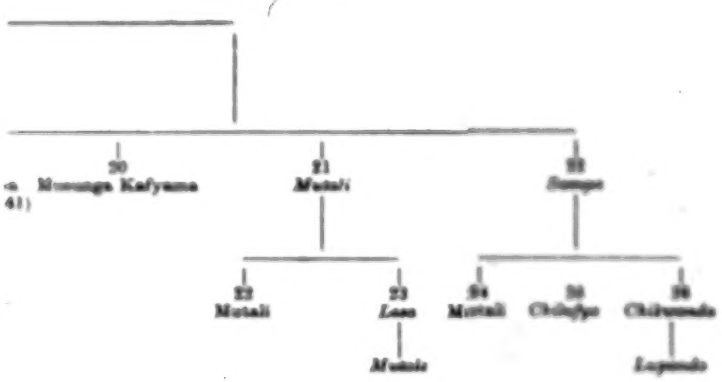

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7:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1940 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

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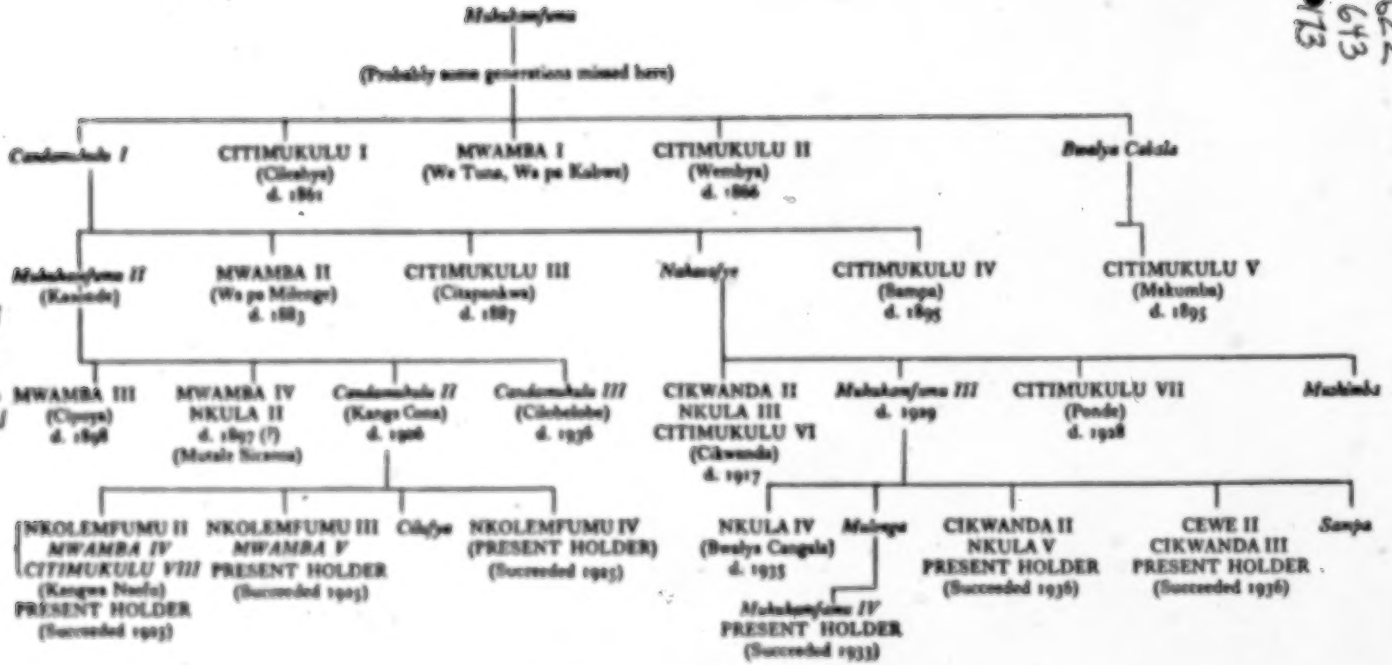

Chart showing succession in central branch of the royal family (taken from a table made by E. B. H. Goodall and kept at the Government Office, Kasama)

Men shown thus: CITIMUKULU Women shown thus: *Candamukulu*

Note.—(1) Two or more titles means the successive holding of two or more chieftaincies. (2) Citumukulu I designates the first Paramount *in this particular lineage group.*

614 616 he says to her. There is no *mako*. It is common, too, to hear jokes between men and women in the *munungwe* relationship. To call to a girl of an opposite clan, 'Come here! You, my enemy! 'You, my wife! Come into my hut!' is a favourite form of flirtation.

To summarize, the *banungwe* relationship among the Bemba implies ritual interdependence, a partnership of enemies, expressed in ritual, traditional jokes and freedom in daily intercourse, and preferential marriage claims, no longer exacted, but still reflected in flirtatious behaviour between the two sexes of opposite clans. What seemed to me incomprehensible at first was that a reciprocal clan relationship which prescribed so many types of human behaviour should be based on the apparently arbitrary factor of a clan name and the qualities of the clan object, *e.g.*, the power of the rain to make the mushrooms grow, or the fish spawn. How could the reciprocal responsibility for mortuary ritual and preferential marriage rights between members of opposite clans depend on a system of grouping in which each *mukoa* had a number of possible *banungwe*, and, as afterwards transpired, its members were often doubtful as to exactly who these were?

Further comparative material will probably throw light on this problem. My own tentative explanation is that the pairing of the clans on the basis of the complementary or hostile nature of the animals or plants they are named after, has been extended far beyond its original use by a process of analogy, and that the introduction of reading and writing has accelerated this extension in an interesting way. I think there is evidence that the *banungwe* were originally pairs of matrilineal clans established in one locality, and that their relationship can only be explained by a knowledge of the Bemba method of conquest of their present territory, and their religious concepts as to the tutelary deities attached to different localities. Tradition describes the first immigration of this tribe from the Congo into their present territory in small lineage groups which settled, grew in numbers, split and then moved on. Sometimes a group found the land empty and sometimes another small band of kinsmen the '*Bena* so and so' were discovered in occupation. In the latter case the new immigrants were dependent, according to Bemba belief, on the first settlers to carry out the rites of propitiation to the ancestral spirits attached to that tract of land. With these prayers for general blessings were often

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[p. 192(A)]

614 associated the duty of burying the chief of the
616 new arrivals, usually the conquering group.
This fact is mentioned in a number of legends
●173 of the immigration of the Bemba and kindred
tribes. The first Citimukulu, or Paramount
Chief, is said to have died on the march and was
buried by an old man, a member of the millet
clan, whom he found in possession of a grove of
614 trees there. A member of the millet clan is still
appointed as the *Shimwalule*, or hereditary
616 burier, of the principal chiefs of the Bemba
to-day, and he is still responsible for the final
767 and most powerful rain ceremony, when the
prayers of the Paramount himself have failed. The
mortuary ritual of the Bemba chiefs is so complex,
and there are so many hereditary officials re-
sponsible for it, that the millet clan are never
described simply as the *banungwe* of the royal
crocodile clan, but among the kindred Bisa
tribes living in smaller groups near L. Bangweolu,
we find to-day the hereditary burier of the chief
always drawn from one clan and always respon-
sible for the annual prayers for the fertility of
the land, his clan definitely described as the first
occupiers of the territory, and moreover as the
banungwe of the royal clan. Thus Chief Matipa
on Cilubi Island is buried by the head of the
Wild Pig clan (*ngulube*) who are *banungwe* of the
royal clan of that island, which is the tree clan
(*ngoma*), the descendents of conquering immigrants
who arrived about a century ago. This hereditary
burier is in charge of the sowing and first-fruit
ceremonies in this island and not the chief.

614 This seems to me to throw light on the original
616 pairing of opposite clans. From the same area
173 comes a legend of the successive settlement of
184 two groups which suggest a possible reason why
preferential marriage rights should be associated
with reciprocal burial duties, or at any rate
embodies the traditional native explanation of
the custom. The Bisa, living under Chief Nsamba
in the L. Bangweolu district say the *Bena Nkashi*
(woman's clan), came up the river first to their
island. Then the *Bena Mfula* (rain clan) came
in canoes. They ate with the *Bena Nkashi* and
started to move off. But the head of the local
group said, 'Stay here. We are alone here. We
'have no women here. Let us live together.'
And the newcomers agreed. So the rain clain
gave the sister of their chief in marriage to the
head of the woman's clan. When the latter died
he had no heirs of his own to bury him, so members
of the rain clan buried him. Later another

8: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1937
FQ5 Bemba FQ5
Bisa

614 group of immigrants arrived, the *Bena Ngoma*
616 (tree clan, that of the present Bisa chiefs of the district). They found the rain clan in possession,
184 and begged them to pray to the spirits of the land 'since they were the owners of the land'
● 173 and to bury their chiefs. The story ends, 'So 'the rain clan are the priests (*shimiapepo*) here 'to-day. They are the *Basungwe* of the woman 'clan. They took their wives from them. They 'are also the *basungwe* of the tree clan.'

614 It is impossible to speak with certainty as to
616 the origin of the *Basungwe* relationship, but these living traditions as to the ritual interdependence and marriage exchanges of pairs of matrilineal lineage groups settled in one locality in the early days of the occupation of the country seem to throw out clues. Once the clan names, usually bestowed as we have seen, from some legend as to the split or amalgamation of two local groups, became linked in traditional linguistic forms (praise-names, ceremonial utterances, formalized jokes, etc.), as complementary or hostile, the extension of the *basungwe* concept to the classification of other clan objects would follow readily. I have no evidence that this process took place in the past, but I have seen
614 it occurring to-day. A native, asked the *basungwe*
616 of such and such a clan, gives one or two pairs automatically, and these are invariably among
811 the oldest clans, with well-known legends of origin and local centres. Then he stops to think and adds more names, and then proceeds to argue with himself, for instance, that if iron is

[p. 193(A)]